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# REASONS

For Im—— the

[Before (Daniel)]

# L--d H--T---r,

And some others of the

P——M——



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# REASONS For Im----- the L--d H--T--r,

And some others of the

P----- M-----

**A** Nation can never be reduced to a worse Circumstance, than to be afraid to do herself Justice, either this is our present Case, or we may be said not well to understand our Case; and in either of the two, it seems to be very much our Concern, that we should come to a right Judgment of things.

I am not ignorant of the violent Spirit that reigns at this Time, in the re-

spective Parties among us ; how ill they relish any kind of Truth, which clashes either with their true or supposed Interest ; and that upon this Score, Authors must expect no fair Quarter among the Parties, whichever they happen to offend : But be that as it will, here I shall endeavour to do Justice to my Country, and examine a little without Doors, as others have done within, *The State of the Nation* ; as little as possible giving Offence to any Party.

The great Question now in Debate among us is, *The Pretender* : This agitates the Minds of Men, as a Storm does the Sea, rolling them this Way or that Way, and dashing them against one another like the Waves, as their Judgment or Parties guide them.

Some will have it, That we are the happiest, safest People in the World, perfectly secure from all Danger, either of the *Pretender*, or of any other Invader ; that we have nothing to do but to sit down under our Vines and Figtrees ; be easy, thankful, and happy ; turn our Hands to Cultivation of Arts, Science, and all kinds of Improvement ; Launch out into Trade ; grow rich and prosperous ;



rous; live in Peace with all the World, and with one another.

*If this were so, it is great Pity but we were made sensible of it, and that we should not lose the Advantage of that happy Condition which Providence has brought us to, for want of knowing it, and for want of seeing before us far enough to prevent our being amused with needless Fears and Apprehensions.*

But there are some also among us, who are quite of another Opinion; who tell us, We are betray'd, sold to a certain, entailed Bondage, and that worst kind of Bondage in the World, (*viz.*) Popish Slavery: That the Government we are under, have given us up; that the M----- are engaged with the Pretender; that we are in a sinking Condition; that if the Queen should die, nay, even whether that happen or no, the *Hanover* Succession, which is our great Dependence, is undermin'd, and Measures taken to impose the Pretender upon us, in spight of Laws, Acts of Parliaments, solemn Oaths and Abjurations, and in Defiance of the general Inclination of the People, *and such like.*

These

These Things are push'd on by the respective Parties, with so much Assurance, in such positive Terms, and with such unseasonable Warmth, that I think it would be lost Labour to engage between them. Perhaps I may in some Part of the Disputes differ from both Sides, and at least may think, that both Parties carry the Quarrel on too far, alledge too much, and go a Length I cannot follow them in. But that is not all :

*My Dispute is not with them, I am endeavouring in these Sheets to clear the way to English, or as it is now, British Liberty, and to shew our People what Right they have, and by what Method to enquire into the Truth of all these things, bring Matters of Fact to light, and the Authors of every evil thing to Justice, however great they may be, or whatever Protection they may take Shelter under.*

*On the other Hand, How the same English Liberty may be claimed, to clear and defend innocent Persons from Slander and unjust Reproach, which the great Men now so much complain of,*

of, and perhaps with too much Reason on both sides.

*In order to this, I shall not so much enquire, whether the Nation is in a safe, or a torturing Condition; whether the Succession of Hanover be sufficiently secured, or is in Danger, under Her Majesty's Administration, &c. as I shall enquire what is the proper Course we are to take, as Subjects, as Britains, and as Protestants, whichever of those States appears upon Enquiry to be our Case.*

**SUPPOSE**, for Example, That it should appear, upon Examination, that the Protestant Hanover Succession is really unsafe, from the Management of evil Men, whether at home or abroad, in Power or out of Power, is not the Question with me; for I point at no Persons, nor take no Notice of the Words, *the Queen's Administration*, which I think are ill brought into the Debate; and of which I shall speak more largely, before I enter into the Arguments that follow.

But **SUPPOSE**, I say, That the Hanover Succession is in Danger, I hope it is not; nor am I giving my Judgment

ment whether it is or no, *in the least* ; but for Argument sake, I may **SUPPOSE** it without granting it.

The Right which the People of *Great Britain* have, or have not, to search into, prosecute, and punish the Persons, whoever they are, that shall be found guilty of bringing us into this Danger, seems to be the present Question; and a Question it is which, at this Time, wants more than ever to be cleared up, as it would be the best, and perhaps the only Step that we can take, to bring all our present Distractions to a short Issue; for all our Complaints and Uneasinesses would end in legal Prosecutions; if we had Justice, we should have no room left for Whispers and Scandal; if Justice was against us, then those Men we suspect, would be cleared and delivered from our Suspicions, and the Uneasinesses on both Sides would die and wear off.

We have certainly some better Method to redress our Grievances, and deliver the Nation from the Dangers which we see impending, than merely bewailing them to one another, and crying out against those we think are the

the Causes of them ; if we have not, we are the most miserable Nation in the World ! Wherefore then is it that we stand still ! Either these Dangers are real, or they are imaginary ; either these Men are guilty, or they are innocent ; why stand we thus gazing at one another ?

If these Dangers are imaginary only, and these Men innocent, why do we not detect the People, whoever they are, who have thus amused and distracted the Nation with needless Fears and unsubisting visionary Dangers, and bring them to Justice, as common Disturbers of the publick Peace ? Why do we not resent the Slanders they have raised upon Persons, and even upon the whole Nation, and do Justice to those who they have injured, whose Characters, if innocent, demand Justice from us, and ought to be vindicated by us ? for Right and Justice is due to all Men indifferently.

On the contrary, if these Dangers are real, and the Persons complained of are guilty, why do we not do the Na-

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tion Justice, and bring them all to answer for it to the Law? why should we suppose they are skreened under any Defences? why is their Administration called *the Queen's Administration*? We know that the Queen does all things by her Ministry, and they are accountable to the Laws for all Male-Administration, even tho' it were by her Majesty's Command, and may lawfully be impeached, if any thing can be fairly laid to their Charge: If there is no Question about their Guilt, what Question can there be why they should not be brought to Punishment? If we do not endeavour to bring them to Justice, why do we complain so much of their Guilt? not impeaching them, gives the Name of Slander to all we say of them; for unless a Crime be proved, it is no Crime in the Eye of the Law, and every Man is a just Man till he is legally convicted of being otherwise.

This brings me to speak of what some People make use of as an Excuse for their not offering to impeach openly the Men they so openly accuse, (and which I mentioned above) that is,

is, that they are aw'd by the annexing the Words, *the Queen's Administration*, to the Question, (viz.) Whether the Protestant Succession is in Danger *under the Queen's Administration*? This they say is a Prejudice to the Debate, and a Skreen under which the People pointed at are sheltred from the Prosecutions which would otherwise be brought against them; supposing, as I imagine, that some People being tender of the Reputation of the Queen, or of offering any thing that may look unkind or undutiful to her Majesty, were therefore backward to pass their Censure in such a Question, and so worded; who, if the single Question had been proposed to them, whether the Protestant Succession was in Danger or no, would freely have given their Opinions.

It seems not so much to be the immediate Debate, whether the Danger be under the *Queen's Administration*, till the previous Question be determined, whether there is a real Danger of the Succession or not; the which being once resolved in the affirmative, it would have been a natural Consequence to

enquire whence, or by whom, from what Causes or Persons that Danger proceeds.

If any are of Opinion, that adding the Words, *the Queen's Administration*, was necessary to influence those who are to give their Judgment in the Point, they injure her Majesty's Reputation by that Opinion more than perhaps they are aware of ; for, if the Succession be really in danger, albeit the adding the Words, *the Queen's Administration*, may be thought in some Measure to cover that Danger from the Resentment of the People, and stop the farther Enquiry into it, yet it cannot be supposed to CONCEAL the Danger from their Knowledge, or *cure their Apprehensions* ; on the contrary, it seems to encrease those Apprehensions, by suggesting to the People that there are real Dangers, and Dangers that are very threatening ; but they cannot be enquired into, because *the Queen's Administration* cover them ; and no Man can have so little Duty and Respect to the Queen, as to suggest that her Majesty's Administration is the Cause of those Dangers.

If this were the Case, it appears to me as if it were a greater Satyr upon her Majesty's *Administration*, that the Dangers of the Succession must not be enquired into, because of that Administration, than it would be, that the Administration should be enquired into, because of the Danger of the Succession.

Those People therefore very much fail in their Duty and Respect to the Queen their Sovereign, who suggest or pretend, that a due Enquiry may not be made into our Dangers, because we must not examine into, or suspect or expose the Queen's *Administration*, and indeed it is the severest Way of examining into, and exposing the Queen's *Administration* that can be: *The Administration of the Queen*, and of every Sovereign, is intended, by the Nature of the thing, for the Safety of the Government, and of the Nation so governed; and I dare say, no Prince that ever sat on the *British* Throne, ever more sincerely designed to have their Government and Administration directed for the

the Good and Safety of their People, then Her present Majesty: To suggest then, that there is a real Danger to the whole Nation, even no less a Danger than that of the future Settlement of the Crown in a Protestant Line, upon which depends the Safety, Honour, Liberty, Religion, and Prosperity of the Nation, both in our Time, and that of our Posterity; and that we cannot enquire into the Circumstances of this Danger, because we cannot in Duty to her Majesty question her Administration. This is to charge directly all the Consequences of that Danger, if not the Danger it self, directly upon *her Majesty's Administration*, which no good Subject can entertain a Thought of without some Horror.

Nor is this a less Injury to the Ministers of State, those great Persons to whom her Majesty has thought fit to entrust the Administration of her Affairs; for if this Addition of the Words, *the Queen's Administration*, should be suggested to be made use of as a Skreen to cover them from the Impeachments which

which the People may think them liable to for the Male-Execution of their Office, or ill doing their Duty ; This is a tacit pleading guilty in their Names without their Leave, and acknowledges in their behalf, that the Danger apprehended is real, and that altho' it may be said to be *under her Majesty's Administration*, yet that it is really FROM their Administration, and that they make use of the Shelter of the Queen's Person to skreen them from any legal Enquiry.

This I think, with great Submission to the common Opinion, is the greatest Injury that can be done to the Ministry, and is exposing them to the severest Censure ; if you will first prove that they fly to a Shelter to cover them from the Complaint of the People, and the Enquiries which may, in a legal and regular manner, be made into their Administration, any one will conclude those Complaints are just, that there is Cause for the Enquiry, and that their Guilt only obliges them to seek a Protection, which no innocent Man would make use of, and which,

which, I dare say, however any one else may design for them, they have more Wisdom than ever to think of for themselves.

These Considerations, and others of like Nature, move me to think, that we are all wrong in our Enquiry, and in talking of the Protestant Succession being in Danger *under her Majesty's Administration*. That the Protestant Succession is in some Danger, I believe many fear, and no doubt but they think that they have very good Grounds for those Fears: The natural Consequence then of these things seem to issue here, (*viz.*) either that we should enquire first upon the previous Question, *Whether the Protestant Succession be really in Danger or no?* or, that granting the previous Question, *That it is in Danger*, we should steadily pursue our said Enquiry into the subsequent Question, (*viz.*) *Whence that Danger proceeds*, what are the Causes, who the Persons, what the Conduct, and whose Administration this Danger arises from, and then what is to be done with them?

If

If it appears that our Fears are imaginary, our Dangers either none at all, or such and so remote, as that we have no Reason either to be uneasie, or to make others so ; as wise Men hope we may, we shall find a great deal of room to blame the Warmth with which these things have been pursued, and perhaps come in to believe, as some would have all along perswaded us, that there is less of Zeal for our Country, than of private Views in the Measures some Men have taken to alarm us, and fill us with Apprehensions.

But, on the contrary, if it appears that these Dangers are pressing ; that *Hannibal* is at our Gates ; that there is a powerful Party at home, who are ready to take Arms in favour of a Popish Impostor ; that this Popish Impostor is forming Alliances abroad, and is secretly supported from the *French* Court ; or otherwise, that he is raising Forces under Hand ; and that he is formidable either in himself, or in the Prospects which he has of being stronger ; and that we have Reason, just

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Reason, great Reason to fear his Success, and to apprehend the Consequences as fatal and dangerous to the Protestant Succession in the House of Hanover ; if, I say, these things are so, and that what many People have suggested should also appear to be true, (*viz.*) that these Dangers are not only remote, as after the Demise of the present Queen, but even immediate and impending, *then I think*, and I believe no body will doubt but that a farther Enquiry is necessary into the Causes and Persons, to which, and upon whom we may see just Ground to charge those Dangers, and this without one way or other concerning her Majesty's Administration in the Question ; and tho' I am not so flegmatick in the Question of the real Danger of the Pretender as some are, and perhaps have different Notions of the fundamental Security of the establish'd Succession, believing it to be a Threefold Cord, which is not so easily broken as some People imagine ; yet neither am I so sanguine as some others are, who despise all Notions of Danger to the Succession, and that so much as even to  
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render their Zeal for the said Protestant Succession to be justly suspected, who think the thing not worth once putting the Question, either to themselves or any one else, about or so much as to enquire, whether it be in Danger or no ; I say, as I cannot go this length, so I think there are divers very good Reasons why this previous Question should be entred upon, (viz.) *Whether the Protestant Succession is really in Danger or no ;* and also the subsequent Question, which, in its kind, is equally significant to us, (viz.) What are the Causes of this Danger ?

Yet let the Reader take Notice here, that it is not the present Business or Design of this Discourse to decide the Questions themselves, but to give the Reasons why the Nation ought to make the Enquiry in a methodical, legal manner, and to state the Questions so, as we may neither be imposed upon to enquire into what we have no Occasion to meddle with, or omit to meddle with what we ought to enquire into.

This seems to have more Weight in it than most People perhaps may imagine, for after all the Heat we see practised among us, it is no Injustice or Arrogance to say, that neither Side go on right; neither **THE ONE** in pushing their Search into these matters more as Persons than as things, whereby they give their Enemies occasion to charge them, as they do very arrogantly, also with carrying on their private Interest, and not the just Concern of their Country, and with aiming to get into, rather than to reform the Management of Affairs. *Nor the other*, in which they really cast a Scandal upon the Ministry at the same time that they defend them, in studiously avoiding the Question, as if they would suppose the Persons concerned in the Administration were afraid of the Enquiry, and apprehensive least the Danger of the Protestant Succession should not only appear real, and that the Fears of the People should appear well grounded; But that those Dangers should also be found to arise from *their Male-Administration*, and that they are justly to be charged with

with being the Causes of it ; that they should be found to have weakened our Security, hazarded the Peace and Safety of their Country, and to have encouraged the Friends, strengthened the Party, and raised the Hopes of the Pretender, and made him so justly appear formidable to the People of this Nation : It is not only a manifest Injury and Injustice to the Ministers of State, to suggest these things of them without Proof, but it is also an irreparable Blow to their Character and Reputation, and what I do not see they have given just Occasion for ; to suggest that they themselves should shun the Enquiry, and endeavour either to put off the People from searching into it, or that they should skreen themselves under the Person of the Queen, transposing the Question from their own Management to that of the Queen's Administration in general, and so avoid the Examination politically, for fear of the Consequence.

If the Ministry are innocent, as I think my self bound in Charity to believe, and that they are not in the Interest

terest of the Pretender, to suggest otherwise, would be to give up their Senses as well as their Integrity. If I say they are innocent, no Man can do them a greater piece of Injustice, than to decline the bringing their Administration to the Test, that they may be clear'd before the whole World. Nor can any Man raise a greater Slander upon them, than to say or suggest, that they are afraid of having that Administration duly enquir'd into and examin'd. It is a Misfortune to an honest Man to be suspected, but it is a greater not to be able to obtain a just Hearing; and therefore it has formerly been complain'd of, that Men have been Impeached in Parliament without having Articles exhibited in Form, that the Cause might be brought to a Trial; nay, we have seen Men forwarding their own Prosecutions, petitioning for Trials, moving the House of Peers to bring them to Trial, whether Articles were exhibited or no, as was the Case of the Five Lords impeach'd in the Time of the late Ministry. Thus honest Men, when their Reputation has been assaulted, have always desired to have their Conduct put upon the strictest Examination,

nation, that their Integrity may be justified to all the World ; and I cannot doubt but that the present Ministry are ready to stand the Test of their Conduct, and to join Issue with those who are most willing to enquire into their Administration.

I must therefore crave leave to suppose, that the Ministers of State now employ'd could not be guilty of so weak a Step as to desire the aforesaid Words, *The Queen's Administration*, should be added to the Question, about the Danger of the Succession, in order to prevent any Enquiry into their Management : But that, on the contrary, they are, as honest Men ought to be, ready to expose their Administration to the strictest Enquiry of all those who have a Right to enquire into it.

I might enlarge here upon the Words, *The Queen's Administration*, and examine what is to be understood by that Expression ; whence it would be necessary to enquire, whether by *The Queen's Administration* is not to be understood the Conduct of Her Majesty's Ministry.

We

We are very sure the Queen Herself cannot willingly be brought into anything to make Her People unsafe or uneasie; and therefore when we speak of the Succession being in Danger under *Her Majesty's Administration*, it must be understood under the Conduct of those whom Her Majesty employs and entrusts with the Administration under Her; so that no Man can suggest that it was meant of Her Majesty's immediate Act or Deed. The Enquiry therefore into the Administration need not to have been declin'd by any, for fear of affronting Her Majesty. We have always been told, That the Queen is accountable to none for Herself: But we likewise know, That Her Ministry are accountable in Parliament; and we have never found, that Her Majesty has protected any of Her Servants from publick Justice in any illegal Proceedings, and we hope still that Her Majesty will not. So that as it is every Freeholder's Right in Parliament to demand an Account of the Conduct of those who are entrusted with the Administration, no other can be understood by what they call Enquiring

quiring into the Queen's Administra-  
tion.

Having thus far cleared the Way to the Question it self, I cannot see why any one should be backward in a legal, dutiful, and respectful Manner, to enquire into the Conduct of the greatest publick Ministers, when they think their Country in Danger; and I cannot but think, that whoever promotes such an Enquiry, does the present Ministry the most faithful Service possible, if they are innocent, as I must be allow'd to say, I am fully perswaded they are.

I find in a late Pamphlet some Expostulations in behalf of the present Ministry, which I cannot but join in with upon this very Foundation, where the Author, who he is I do not enquire, has these few, but most significant Expressions; "The Ministry court your Im-  
" peachments, and demand to be charg-  
" ed: They say, as the old Judge of  
" Israel, God's Minister of State, at the  
" End of the Theocracy of the Tribes;  
" *Whose Ox or whose Ass have I taken?*

D

" and

" and no Man stands forth to accuse  
" them.

I crave Leave to agree with this Proposal with the greatest Alacrity imaginable, and that from the same Motive with that Author, (*viz.*) of Justice to the Ministry; for if they are innocent, to impeach them, and bring them to the Test, must have this happy Effect, (*viz.*) that being effectually cleared, there would be no more room for the Complaints of the People, which it cannot be very pleasing to any innocent Person to lie under. No Man can sit down with a publick Scandal, and be easie, without desiring to be delivered from it, especially when he knows himself to be innocent. Therefore I say also, *Stand forth and accuse them.*

On the other Hand, not to impeach them, is tacitly to acknowledge that they are innocent, and indeed is to take away the Reason of Complaint; for we ought no more to complain, if we cannot make out a Charge. The Ministry therefore will, I hope, not think them-

themselves concerned, or be in the least offended, if I should say, That if they are guilty of the many Things which People are apt to charge upon them; if the Danger of the *Protestant Succession* is real, and is occasioned by their Mismanagement; if they have taken such Measures as are destructive of the publick Safety, and inconsistent with the Security of the Protestant Succession; if they are secretly in Concert with the Pretender, and have laid Measures to bring him in upon us by a *French Power*; if they haye betrayed their Trust to the Enemis of their Country, and have resolved to sacrifice our *Religion* and Liberties to Popery and Slavery; if they have joined Measures with the Friends and Favourers of the Pretender, and to bring them into Act with them in some personal Cases, for the Support of their Interest and Places, have privately entered into Compact with them, to break the present Constitution, and the Settlement of the Protestant Succession. If for this very Reason they have made the Peace, that the Interest of the Illustrious House may be lessened, and at length

destroyed, and that they may have a foreign Power to embarrass and intangle the States General, and the other Allies of the said Illustrious House, so that they shall not be in a Condition, either the latter to make an Attempt here for the Crown, in Case of Her Majesty's Decease, or the former to assist them. If these things, or any sufficient Part of them, were true, or there was any just Reason to believe them, it is hoped, *Great Britain* can never want some true Patriots, who would freely expose their own Safety so far for their Country's Good, as to appear openly against such manifest Attacks upon our Liberties and Constitution, and who would endeavour, by all lawful Means, to bring such Offenders to publick Justice. No Relation, no Obligation ought to deter from so just an Attempt; if a Father, a Brother, a Friend, if the nearest Tye of Blood, or the strongest Tye of Gratitude were in the Way, it ought not to cover an Offence of that kind, and I could no more esteem him faithful to his Country, who refrained the falling upon such a Person, let his Dignity or Relation be what it will,

will, sobeit he took such Course only as the Law and Constitution directed, than I could esteem them to be honest Men, who were guilty of the Facts.

It would seem to be lost Labour to move anyBody here to fall upon the Men that should be guilty in the Manner as above. No Men can need the Perswasion who have any Sense of the Safety of their Country; is not our own Safety, and the Safety of our Posterity, concerned in the preserving the Protestant Succession? Can we need Arguments to perswade the People of *Great Britain* to prosecute those as National Enemies, who act in the Interest of a Popish Pretender? It cannot be possible that any true Protestant, who owns the Revolution, has taken the Abjuration, and professes to be a Lover of *English* or *British* Liberty, should be backward to oppose any Person in such things as these, or should desire such Person or Persons should escape the Justice of the Nation; and therefore if these things can be made appear upon any, in Ministry or out of Ministry, be they where or who they may, every honest

nest Man will and must give them up, every honest Man will join heartily in the Prosecution of such, be it by Impeachment, Indictment, Address, or whatever other Method, either in Parliament or out of Parliament, the Law shall direct.

*Jacobites* are the sworn and abjured Enemies of this Nation; their Idol the Pretender stands attainted by Parliament, and is a dead Man in the Sense of the Law of this Nation, whenever he sets his Foot here. Whoever he is adheres to, abets, or joins him in any Attempt, to place himself upon the *British* Throne, as well after the Queen's Decease, as during Her Majesty's Life, is a Rebel, a Traytor, and an Invader of his Country, and ought not only to be put to Death as a Traytor, but to be pursued by every true *British* with all his Might, in order to be brought in, and be delivered up to Justice, and in Case of his refusing to surrender himself to Justice, or in Case of his Resistance, may be kill'd and destroy'd, as a Traytor and Rebel, in open Arms against the Government, may be.

As

As this is true so far as it relates to the open, plain Act of Invasion and Rebellion, so it is in its proportion true of every secret Contriver, and of every Person endeavouring to make Way for such an Attempt or Invasion.

If whoever shall directly affirm, by Writing or Printing, that the Pretender has a Right to the Crown, is guilty of High Treason, and shall die as a Traytor, as is enacted by the Law

*Anna, cap.* Certainly he who by secret Concert with the Pretender, or with his Friends, Favourers, or Allies, engages to set him upon the Throne, whether he by Right ought to enjoy it or no, is much more guilty of Treason, and deserves to suffer as a Traytor.

And above all this, to have a Minister of State, who is entrusted with the Administration of Affairs, the executive Power, and the Authority of the Prince, to have any of these make use of that Power and Authority, to prompt the Interest of the declared Enemy of their Country, it

it is a Treason of a blacker Nature, a Crime of a deeper Die than meaner Subjects can commit, and calls for the warmest Resentment, I mean, legal, that the People so injured can express; such Crimes cannot but create a Horror in the Minds of the common People; and the Persons guilty, must be the Aversion and Abomination of all that love the Queen and their Country, or value their Religion and Liberties. The Aggravations of such a Crime are singular also, respecting the Persons guilty, whose Places summon them, as Patriots, to an extraordinary Care of, and Concern for the Good of their Country; for these to be guilty of so flagrant a Crime, as that of betraying us to Popery, and Popish Tyranny, as it is the worst kind of Ingratitude, so it calls for the highest Resentment, and the severest legal Punishment: And can it be possible then, that there can want Patriots in this Nation, whose Zeal for the Publick would lead them to prosecute the greatest Criminal, who can be guilty of such things as these, if the Fact can be proved?

But

But I must all this while be allowed to expound this upon the Supposition only of a clear Proof of Fact; I am none of those who are for condemning the meanest Subject any more than the greatest, upon suggested Crimes, and supposititious Guilt. This would be to claim Justice to our selves, and deny it to other People, and deprive Ministers of State of the Privileges of *British* Subjects, while we complain of the Invasion of those Privileges for our selves. It is the Happiness of the *British* Nation, That their Privileges are Universal, and Justice is to be administered with Equality, and without Favour, or personal Respect, otherwise it would be no more Justice, but Oppression and Partiality.

I cannot but express my Hopes and Belief, that the present Ministry have acted with such Care of their Duty and Regard to the Laws, as to deserve none of the Censures which we find People so willing to load them with; if they are guilty, every honest Man must give them up; if not, no honest

Man will condemn them. We are not trying them here, we have nothing to do with the Charge, it must and ought to lie in the ordinary Course of Justice; and it were to be wish'd, that all Charges of this kind were more than they are left to the ordinary Course of Justice. Impeachment is better than Slander; every Man has a Right to bring a true Charge, and to try the Validity of that Charge, by the proper Judicatories of the Nation; but no Man has a Right to raise Scandals, evil Surmises, and Suggestions of Guilt without Ground, to wound the Reputation of Men, when they cannot otherwise touch them.

In clearing up the Right of every *British Subject*, to impeach and bring to Justice the greatest Criminal, I do the present Ministry the greatest Service that I am capable of doing, while supposing them innocent and clear of all that Scandal and Reproach, which is now heaped unjustly, I doubt not, upon them. I take away all Ground or Encouragement for that hateful Method of slandering Men without Proof, by

by shewing how it is every Man's Duty, if he has Proof, to bring it forth, and bring the great Offender to Justice; and if he has not, to cease the Complaint; and no more defame a Man unjustly, than sentence him unjustly.

I know it is too often alledged, that some Men, by their Post of Power and Favour, have such Influence on the Persons before whom they ought to be brought as Delinquents, that it is not to be expected that Justice should take Place against them. I know not but this Complaint may have been too just in some Cases, and I know *Ireland* is of late made an Example in the Opinion of some, of this part; but I hope we have no Reason to fear that Extent of Power in the present Ministry over that honourable Body of Peers who are to be the proper Judges in Appeals of this Nature. But to answer this once for all, Demonstrations of Fact have such a convincing Energy with them, as no Body of such Judges could ever withstand, nor could any Influence be supposed to preserve the Majority a-

against it ; for Truth made clear and undeniably can never be withstood.

I can never allow that a Charge clearly made out, shall not meet with a just Trial from such a Body of Men, and from the supream Judicature of *Britain*, and it would argue a Diffidence of the Proofs and Justice of the Complainor, rather than a Partiality in the House of Peers, for any Man to object, that he will not impeach, because he doubts whether he shall have Justice at the Bar of the House of Lords.

If the Fact can be made out, and Justice cannot be obtained, the People of *Great Britain* will know then what Hands they are in, and know better what their own Circumstances are, than now they can pretend to do. But till that Misfortune befalls us, that we cannot have Justice at the Bar of the House of Lords, I say, till that time comes, no Man can well answer it to the World, to cast a Reproach of so black a Nature as this is upon a Minister of State, and this in so Great and

so August an Assembly as that of a *British Parliament*, without endeavouring to bring the Person he charges to Justice, or deserving to be brought to Justice himself.

It may be hard to determine how far any private Gentleman may be obliged to impeach a corrupt Ministry, and thereby expose himself to be a Sacrifice to the provoked Rage of a Man in Power, if he fails of the Success. But it is not at all difficult to determine this, that for the Ease and Satisfaction of the Nation this ought either to be done, or the Complaint it self not be raised.

For we are to do Justice to all, as well those who we oppose, as those who we join with ; and if we cannot make out the Charge, we ought not to let it be a Charge ; if we can make it out, we ought not to fail of doing it. And I must be impartial in this, as I would not be guilty of the same Injustice which I condemn, (*viz.*) that as if the Ministry are guilty, no true *British* Representative ought to be afraid to de-

detect and to impeach them ; so if they are not guilty, God forbid they should be charg'd at all. I am no more acquitting the Ministry here, than I am condemning them ; neither indeed am I either acquitting or condemning. It is a Charity due to all Men, to wish they may not be guilty of any thing which deserves Punishment, and I wish so here, and hope still, that all the Complaint, which has made such a Ferment in the Nation, may prove groundless ; and I must add, that if after so much said against them in this Affair of the Pretender, of the Ministry having favoured the Pretender, of the Succession of the House of *Hanover* being in Danger from the Ministry, and of the Ministry being in a private Concert to bring him in ; if, I say, after all these things, no Man shall have so much Zeal for his Country, if he believes it all, as to impeach the Persons, who he is so forward to say are guilty, it will turn all in favour of the Ministry, it will be the greatest Vindication of their Innocence that can possibly be of the kind, and instead of taking

taking such Men to be Patriots and Defenders of their Country, and of the Succession, People will be apt to say, they are in a Plot to establish the Reputation of the Ministry, and to render all the Complaints of this Nature that either are, or shall be brought against them, absurd and ridiculous.

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